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thing like the same way as that in which they view the western expansion of the North. This may be clearly seen in Dr. Hart's treatment of the annexation of Texas. It is made a sub-section under "Slavery and Abolition." It was natural that a former generation should see the episode in this guise; but must we not now see that the relation of the annexation of Texas to the extinction of slavery is only one-half of the Texan story? No one can read the narratives of the earlier Texans, such for instance as are constantly appearing in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, without perceiving that, in the main, the Republic of Texas stands on the same basis as the short-lived republics of West Florida, California and Hawaii, and that the movement toward the occupation of that country is, independently of slavery, a wholly natural and very interesting part of the great epic of American expansion. A few pieces exhibiting Southwestern development would help to make all this clear to the youthful mind.

It is probably right, though it is certainly disagreeable, to mention some small defects in the practical introduction which is prefixed to this excellent book. P. 2, Bancroft's *Constitution* "reprinted with documents as a sixth volume," etc., should of course be "reprinted without the documents." It is a great pity that in the bibliography and in the text the edition of Jefferson's writings cited should be the old one by Professor Washington and not the new one by Mr. Paul Ford. One cannot complain so much that W. C. Ford's *Washington* is ignored in favor of Sparks's. It is not enormously better. But the earlier edition of Jefferson was distinctly bad; and the student surely ought rather to be referred to Mr. Ford's admirable collection. One does not know what to make of the characterization of Maclay's *Journal* as "the most valuable periodical journal of the period" (p. 10). Indeed, we must think it a mistake to give so much prominence to Maclay in so brief a bibliography (pp. 10, 12), and to give two long pieces from him in the text, without declaring emphatically the reserves with which his opinions must be taken. Maclay was a contemptible creature if there ever was one, and if we are forced, because the other senators did not keep diaries, or their descendants have failed to produce them, to see things through his jaundiced eyes, the young among us are entitled to a warning, to account for the strange colors they see.

A History of Political Parties in the United States. By J. P. GORDY, PH.D. In four volumes. Vol. I. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1900. Pp. 598.)

Political Parties in the United States, 1846-1861. By JESSE MACY, A.M., LL.D. [The Citizen's Library.] (New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. viii, 333.)

A History of Political Parties in the United States. By JAMES H. HOPKINS, formerly Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900. Pp. 477.)

HERE are three books with practically the same title and dealing with the same general subject. They are, however, quite unlike, because the writers have set themselves different aims, have adopted different methods of treatment, and have had widely different standards of workmanship. Two of the writers are professors in western colleges; the third is a retired congressman.

I had hoped to find in Mr. Hopkins's book, written as it is by a man who has had the advantage of contact with large affairs, the human touch too often wanting in books about American politics written under academic influences. But his treatise can scarcely be considered a serious contribution to political history. The text is little more than a running account of national elections from the beginning down to the present time, interspersed with brief and unedifying references to well-known events which are supposed to have affected parties and candidates. There is no evidence of research, no illuminating discussion, no skill in arrangement, no charm of narrative. His comments on public men are very much in the style of congressional eulogies. Jefferson, whose departure from Washington in 1809 was anything but triumphal, retired, according to Mr. Hopkins, "crowned with honors and happy in the prosperity of his country." Andrew Jackson's achievement at New Orleans is magnified by doubling the strength of Pakenham's army. It is asserted without qualification that the financial disturbance following Jackson's removal of the deposits was "an artificial panic, started by the brokers and agents of the banks and hostile politicians." Throughout, party platforms and similar utterances are accepted at their face value; there is no attempt whatever to go behind them to determine what parties have actually stood for. An appendix—nearly half the book—gives in full all the platforms adopted by national conventions.

Of Professor Gordy and Professor Macy it may be said that both have taken their subject seriously, both have written candidly and without apparent inclination to arraign or to defend any party organization. Professor Gordy's book is the second edition, somewhat revised, of the first of four volumes in which he proposes to cover the whole field of our political history. It brings the narrative down to the end of Jackson's administration. Treating with much care and in considerable detail the formation of the Constitution, the great constructive measures of the early congresses, and the foreign and international difficulties of the new government, the work is really more than a history of parties. A more accurate title would be "A History of Government in the United States, with Special References to Party Controversies." Professor Macy's narrative is confined to the period from 1846 to 1861; but he gives more space to general discussion, to the philosophy of the subject, than Professor Gordy. Perhaps the latter will in a future volume give us more at length the general views which in his close study of specific controversies he has not, as yet, found occasion fully to set forth.

In truth, however, it is no light undertaking to interpret in any broad way the history of American politics. One finds it easier and safer to

record what actually happened, to cite written documents, to characterize leaders. The American people have expressed through party organizations far more than party organizations are meant to express. No phase of the national character but must be realized, no considerable interest but must be considered, no class or section that can be neglected, by the man who tries to comprehend our party system. Professor Gordy's plan is merely to ask of each party what it aims to do, and the answer to that question is perhaps all that a historian not endowed with genius can hope to achieve.

He finds that the Federalist party was trying "to give the country a government with power enough to do the things essential to the well-being of the nation," and that it succeeded. He does not say simply "to create a nation," because he holds that we were one nation and not thirteen, under the Articles of Confederation, notwithstanding that the Articles were no true constitution of government and notwithstanding the popular impression to the contrary which prevailed at the time. Into that old controversy it is scarcely worth while to enter here, but Professor Gordy himself supplies ample material for argument on the other side. Indeed, even one who inclines to the contrary view may well question whether the notion that a man's state was his nation ever was so widespread as Professor Gordy thinks it was.

Few writers have ever held the balance so firmly true while weighing Hamilton against Jefferson. Professor Gordy has not the imagination and literary skill to present these two fascinating characters in a way to make us see them as their contemporaries saw them. But he credits each of them with great abilities, he finds for each a place which no other could have filled. That Hamilton was not in sympathy with those ideas and aspirations which have worked themselves out in American history, and which are now generally recognized as the characteristic and essential things in American life, he makes plainer than ever. He even intimates that Hamilton changed his position on the question of our relations with France when Adams had been persuaded to make him second in command to Washington, and that he was influenced by his ambition for a military career. But the wisdom of the specific measures which Hamilton originated is fully conceded.

As to Jefferson and his philosophy, Jefferson the Republican is clearly and justly distinguished from Jefferson the Democrat. The distinction is an important one. If only his extreme states-rights views, his violent opposition to centralization, be taken into account, it is hard to see that the teaching of Jefferson has to-day any force with his countrymen. The national government has so grown in power, its revenues and activities have been so multiplied, and the sovereignty of the individual states has become so meaningless a phrase, that his views in that regard may be considered as antiquated as Hamilton's monarchical proclivities. Jefferson the interpreter of the Constitution is discredited by subsequent history quite as effectively as Hamilton the distruster of the people. It is Jefferson the champion of the individual who still,

after more than a century of progress towards his ideals, beckons us on to bolder and bolder experiment of ourselves. His is at once the most peccable and the most unassailable career in our history. Half of his philosophy is already abandoned by his own disciples. The other half is professed even by those who would call themselves disciples of his adversary.

The candor, fairness, and good judgment of Professor Gordy are well displayed in the two important chapters which treat of the Alien and Sedition Laws and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. He is at pains to make clear not merely what the Federal statutes and the Republican protests actually meant, but how the two parties looked at the matter and what each party thought of the other. The Laws are condemned and so are the Resolutions. One party had been led on to tyranny, the other goaded into something which, if it was not itself rebellion, was to breed insurrection in after years. Yet the position of both parties seems natural in view of their mutual misunderstanding and distrust.

On the whole, this first volume indicates that the writer is well-equipped for the task he has undertaken, provided he adheres to the method he has adopted. Careful and thoughtful students will find his book useful for reference, sane, intelligent, reasonable. It will never be popular, for there is not a brilliant line in it. The style is by no means bad, but it is undeniably dry. That, however, we have come to expect. It seems to be the rule rather than the exception that writers on history and politics shall forego such opportunities for fine writing as they find in their way.

Professor Macy's book probably has less permanent value than Professor Gordy's. Contributing little or nothing to our knowledge of the controversies through which the country struggled from war with Mexico to civil war, it must stand or fall on the views which are advanced with unusual freedom concerning the ways in which secession might have been prevented. Professor Macy is fond of "ifs." The boldest "if" of all is expressed in this sentence: "Had President Taylor lived it is probable that the compromise measure of 1850 would have been defeated, California would probably have been admitted as a free state, Texas would have been confined within narrower limits, the Union would not have been divided, and the Whig party would have drawn to itself the support of all classes who were in favor of restricting slavery within its existing limits." This is followed by an interesting attack on that view of history which enables a historian to content himself with merely explaining what actually took place. It is an error, Professor Macy thinks, to accept what has happened as inevitable—quite as bad an error as to make the whole course of history turn upon accidents. "To teach that the disruption of this Union and the horrible tragedy of our civil war are events that could not have been prevented is," he declares, "as immoral as it is to teach that every normal young man must inevitably lead for a time an immoral life."

It is no doubt true that many of us, having traced events to their causes, rest content with that achievement alone. Things done have too much the effect of finality. One concedes Professor Macy's general contention, but he is not convincing when he tries to point out just how the Whigs could have kept their party alive, drawn to their support both the anti-slavery men of the North and the conservative men of the South, and so saved the Union without war. It *was* the blunders and sins of men, and no mere harsh decree of fate, that cost us so many precious lives. But it was not the blunders and sins of the Whig party alone. We were expiating the follies and crimes of centuries, not those of a decade merely. These had brought about such a state of things, such a binding together of dissimilar civilizations, such antagonisms between sections, such bitterness of feeling, that one looking back no farther than the year 1850 can say with reason that division and war were then clearly inevitable, whether President Taylor lived or died, whether Clay's compromise measures passed or not. In the great Greek tragedies, Fate controls ; but Fate, being interpreted, means ancient sin.

Professor Macy's later chapters are notable for the consideration he gives to Stephen A. Douglas. It is too common, now that Lincoln's fame is grown to its full proportions, to dwarf his contemporaries that his stature may seem the greater. A reaction is sure to come. It will not, of course, deprive Lincoln of the first place in the history of his times, but Douglas will certainly have his revenge for the unwise belittling of his career which has been the fashion. To exclude him from the well known "American Statesmen" series, while places were found for Charles Francis Adams and Thaddeus Stevens, was altogether unjust. From the death of Clay until Lincoln was nominated, Douglas's was quite the most important figure on the stage ; and the man who thus dominated a notable epoch was not altogether unworthy of the place he then held in the public eye.

I should add that Mr. Hopkins escapes an error into which both Professor Macy and Professor Gordy have fallen. He spells Breckinridge correctly.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

The Writings of James Monroe. Edited by STANISLAUS MURRAY HAMILTON. Vol. IV., 1803-1806. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900. Pp. xviii, 509.)

THE conclusion of Mr. Hamilton's fourth volume brings him to the end of the year 1806. Now of the letters of Monroe preserved in the Department of State, which are the chief staple of Mr. Hamilton's collection, somewhat less than four-ninths precede that date and somewhat more than five-ninths are subsequent to it. There is here some ground for apprehension. If continued upon the same scale the collection will amount to nine or ten volumes. We believe that only six were originally promised. Nine or ten such volumes represent a mass of material,